692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
426
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huloog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 [466] 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--pháyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángtháng want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 253

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

●352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 352 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 439 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

[157]

651 TAX--SHoGHam (octroi and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 439 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also samáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

5: Ribbach--28 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 32/

291
142
415
352

Inhabitants of Ladakh.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

Proportion of the sexes.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in

Houses and furniture.

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

Food.

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhága valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 might wish to be busy elsewhere. Understanding that they would prefer our room to our company, we again wended our way down the hill. During our short stay in the room of enthronement, no ceremonies whatever were performed, and no word was spoken. There sat the *Skushog* and the new King like two graven images. We asked them what they did to crown their King, and they replied that he was allowed to sit on a throne as high as that of the *Shushog*. But we could not help feeling that the haste with which they got rid of us indicated that we were not to see the real ritual, as the influence of our Occidental presences would not be auspicious, yet we appreciated the friendly spirit which did not wish to omit us entirely from their important celebrations.

643 574 The Royal ladies, too, have always given a welcome to visitors from Western lands, whether it be the missionary "Memsahibs," who live in Leh all the year round, or the summer travellers who may be taken to pay their respects to the reigning house at Stog.

When the family come to Leh for their winter visit, their presence being necessary at the great festivals of the New Year and *Dosmoche*, we usually go up to the castle to pay them a call. We first inquire if it would be convenient for us to come on a given afternoon, sending a present of a cabbage, turnip or some potatoes, all of which are real luxuries in this part of the world, and hardly-grown at all outside our own and the Commissioner's compounds. The time having been fixed, we are led into the sitting-room of the two Queens, and take our seats near them on nice Tibetan rugs, well-padded underneath. The little princesses, aged about two and seven on the last occasion, were very interested in the foreign ladies and the baby especially was delighted at receiving a rubber doll with a squeak. Butter-tea, of course, was served, and a special brand of sweet shortbread made in the royal household provided. Once when we went down to Kashmir, the old Queen Mother kindly sent over a dozen of these, wrapped in a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the *Slobdpon* is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Skushog. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again by the band, when the flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top
532 of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict
779 gods or goddesses or the "Wheel of Life," and with their
792 colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

792 We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where
● 352 the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

792 And there is still another room in which there is a large
778 god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his
532 head projects into a second storey reaching into a little
782 verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

where American marigolds sometimes blossom. Once, to finish the picture, we glimpsed a bent little old lama who peeped out of the attic and over the window boxes, and saw for a moment the elfin grey locks and untidy whiskers of his hatless old monkish face, the fittest possible inhabitant of that grotesque little corner.

There was one more interesting little visit to be paid. Meme Lobzang actually consented to show us his own private compartments. There were eight of us, and the lamas had some whispered consultation as to whether we should all get in. Across the court-yard and up some steps to the right of the main entrance, under the valanced doorway, through a small vestibule in which we noticed a fascinating copper water pot, we entered a tiny room looking down towards Leh. We could just manage to sit down on the floor, the interested lamas peering in and watching our every movement with amused curiosity. The floor was covered with small mats over felt ones. The *Slobdpon's* chief resting place and probably his bed, was rather more padded, and covered with an orange felt. He sat with his back to the small latticed window, a low tiny table in front, and at his side a higher one on which were sundry portraits, one of their Majesties, the King and Queen, one of the Dalai Lama, and one of the *Skushog* of Hemis in his festival dancing dress with high hat and overskirt of human bones, taken by the Doctor Sahib. A pickle bottle held a bunch of green from the shrub in the court-yard, and at the side was a low open bowl of rose petals. A small god like a doll, and a pot of charming design, the latter unfortunately dressed in lady-like petticoats, were also noticed, besides a printing frame, and another tiny god of doll's house size. Behind him on the windowsill sundry writing materials, religious books, and small ceremonial utensils lay about, a coloured portrait of the late King Edward hung on another wall; in fact every corner of the room was used, yet the effect was clean and tidy. Stuffy it could not help being with so many visitors, and, after taking

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu
795 Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

595 It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not.
631 As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

595 No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there
[342] at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father.
[791] He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

[352] He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden
[574] table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and